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Summary of the work of the League of
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SUMMARY
OF THE WORK
OF THE
LEAGUE *of* NATIONS

January 1920—March 1922

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS CONSTITUTION

THE ASSEMBLY—ART. 3 OF THE COVENANT (PART I OF ALL PEACE TREATIES)

The Assembly consists of the representatives of all the States Members. No State, whatever its importance, can have more than three delegates or more than one vote.

In the terms of the Covenant, the Assembly "may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the world."

"The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon." The First Assembly, which met at Geneva, decided that its meetings should henceforth take place every year at Geneva, beginning on the first Monday in September. The First Assembly, in 1920, was presided over by M. Paul Hymans, Delegate of Belgium; the Second, in 1921, by M. van Karnebeek, Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs.

THE COUNCIL—ART. 4

The Council of the League was to have comprised nine members, but the abstention of the United States reduced the number to eight. These are:—

The four Principal Allied Powers—the Permanent Members of the Council—and four other Members of the League chosen freely by the Assembly. At present these are Belgium, Brazil, China and Spain. The representatives of the eight States Members of the Council are now:—

- (a) Mr. Balfour (British Empire)
M. Léon Bourgeois (France)
The Marquis Imperiali (Italy)
The Viscount Ishii (Japan)
- (b) M. Hymans (Belgium)
M. da Cunha (Brazil)
Mr. Wellington Koo (China)
M. Quinones de León (Spain)

The representatives on the Council perform the duties of President by rotation, according to the alphabetical order of the States represented. Each Member has one vote, and may not have more than one representative. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council is invited to send a representative to sit as a Member of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting its interests.

The Council, like the Assembly, may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. In fact, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say—although this is a delicate question of constitutional law—that the Council, one-half of whose Members are elected by the Assembly, is an emanation of the latter body, and is entrusted with the direction of affairs in the Assembly's absence.

The Council has already held sixteen sessions. The earlier ones were at Paris, London, Rome, San Sebastian, and Brussels. Since the beginning of 1921, it has met generally at Geneva at intervals of three months.

SECRETARIAT—ART. 6

The Secretariat, like the Commissions to which reference will be made later, is an auxiliary of the Council and the Assembly. While those bodies are in session, it is the Secretariat which draws up minutes and carries out the administrative work. It is the Secretariat which prepares the business for all meetings, and which sees to the execution of the decisions taken; finally, it serves as an intermediary between the Assembly and the Council, between the League and its Members, and between the League and States which are not Members.

At the head of the Secretariat there is a Secretary-General, assisted by a Deputy Secretary-General and two Under-Secretaries-General.

The first Secretary-General is named in the Treaty of Peace. Hereafter, the Secretary-General is to be appointed by the Council with the approval of the

majority of the Assembly. The Secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat are appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretariat at present consists of ten sections:

- 1 Section for Administrative Commissions (Saar Basin and Danzig) and for Minorities, directed by a Norwegian.
- 2 Economic and Financial Section, directed by an Englishman.
- 3 Legal Section, directed by a Dutchman.
- 4 Political Section, directed by a Frenchman.
- 5 Limitation of Armaments Section, directed by an Italian.
- 6 Mandates Section, directed by a Swiss.
- 7 Health Section, directed by a Pole.
- 8 Transit Section, directed by an Italian.
- 9 Information Section, directed by a Frenchman.
- 10 Social Questions Section, in charge of an Englishwoman.

In addition to these three essential political and administrative organisations, there are an International Labour Organisation and a judicial institution—the Permanent Court of International Justice.

COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE—ART. 14

In accordance with Article 14, the Council, with the aid of a special committee of eminent jurists, evolved plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice which were submitted to the First Assembly, and passed, after discussion and modification, in December, 1920.

The Court will be competent to adjudicate upon the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law and breaches of international obligations. In Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, disputes concerning the application of labour conventions are to be referred to the Permanent Court.

There are also, in all the treaties of peace, clauses for the protection of minorities, and disputes regarding the carrying into effect of these clauses are to be referred to the Court. In the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine, the Court's decision is to be evoked in any dispute.

On September 17, eleven judges and four deputy judges were elected, and the Court came into being.

JUDGES OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE:

M. Altamira	(Spain)
M. Anzilotti	(Italy)
M. Barboza	(Brazil)
M. de Bustamente	(Cuba)
Lord Finlay	(Great Britain)
M. Loder	(Netherlands)
Mr. Moore	(U.S.A.)
M. Oda	(Japan)
M. Weiss	(France)
M. Nyholm	(Denmark)
M. Huber	(Switzerland)

DEPUTY JUDGES

M. Negulesco	(Rumania)
M. Wang	(China)
M. Yovanovitch	(Yugo-Slavia)
M. Beichmann	(Norway)

These judges obtained a majority of votes in the Assembly and the Council.

The Statute of the Court does not establish compulsory jurisdiction. That is to say, that a State in conflict with another State cannot compel the latter to appear and to accept the Court's judgment. One of the clauses of the Statute, however, gives the Contracting States the option of accepting compulsory jurisdiction for all or for certain classes of disputes. Up to the present, eighteen States—Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, Haiti, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Panama, Portugal, San Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland,

Holland, and Uruguay—have signed this clause on a reciprocal basis, and nine—Bulgaria, Brazil, China, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland, Uruguay—have ratified it.

The formal opening of the Court took place at The Hague—which is the permanent seat of the Court—on January 30, 1922.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

PART XIII.—

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The International Labour Organisation was established by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. It works by means of:

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, in which all the States Members of the League of Nations, together with Germany and Hungary, take part. Each country is represented by four delegates (two for the Government, one for the Workmen's Organisations, and one for the Employers' Organisations). This Conference meets once a year. Up to the present it has met at Washington (November, 1919), at Genoa (June, 1920), and at Geneva (October, 1921);

A GOVERNING BODY, consisting of twenty-four members representing the most important industrial States, meets at intervals of about two months;

AN INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, which is a permanent institution on analogous to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The task of the International Labour Organisation is to maintain social peace in all countries, just as it is the task of the League of Nations to maintain international peace between all countries. With the collaboration of delegates from the Governments, and from Employers' and Workmen's Organisations, it draws up Labour Conventions, which must then be submitted to the appropriate authorities for ratification in each country.

DUTIES IMPOSED UPON THE LEAGUE BY TREATIES OF PEACE

ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE CITY OF DANZIG—ARTS. 100-108 OF SECTION XI OF PART III OF TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The Treaty of Versailles provides that Danzig should become a Free City under the protection of the League of Nations, with a Constitution guaranteed by the League.

The Council defined the obligations of "protection" as an undertaking to respect and maintain against all foreign aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of Danzig in the same sense as is implied in Article 10 of the Covenant.

The "guarantee" was defined as implying that the Constitution must have the approval of the League and can only be changed with its approval. The League's authority in Danzig is represented by a High Commissioner. Among his duties is that of adjudicating disputes between Danzig and Poland.

The Free City was established by the Allied Powers on November 15, 1920, under the Constitution drawn up by representative Danzigers in agreement with the High Commissioner of the League. Some of its most important provisions are—Official language, German. Polish population to have freedom for use of mother tongue for education and for administration of justice. No legal privileges or disqualifications to attach to birth, position or creed. Free City shall not be used as a military or naval base. Manufacture of war material forbidden unless by consent of the League.

The League Council has decided to entrust the defence of Danzig to Poland under prescribed conditions.

Danzig has requested the League to assist in restoring its financial condition.

SAAR BASIN—ART. 48 OF SECTION IV OF PART III OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

This territory is to be governed for fifteen years by a League of Nations Commission, consisting of a Frenchman, a Belgian, a Dane, a Canadian, and a Saar

inhabitant, who are to be directly responsible to the Council of the League. In 1935 a plebiscite is to be taken as to whether the inhabitants wish to return to Germany, to be transferred to France, or to remain under League Government.

All the mines of the Saar are given over to France in sole possession—the franc may be used in all transactions connected with the mines—and may have no restrictions imposed on its circulation in the territory; the Saar Basin is to be eventually incorporated in the French Customs regime.

Great difficulty was found in the adjustment of relations between the former German officials and the Governing Commission, and it was only after a widespread strike of officials in August, 1920, that working relations were established. The services of a great majority of the officials of the Prussian, Bavarian and Imperial Governments were retained for the administration of the country. German protests were made to the Governing Commission at this time over the expulsion of some of the strikers by French troops. The rapid depreciation of the German mark has rendered the whole economic situation of the Territory exceedingly difficult; in view of it, the Governing Commission has introduced the franc into the payment of the State and municipal officials, and into the wages of the majority of the workers. This action, though widely supported by the population, and in accordance with the welfare of the inhabitants, has been the subject of bitter protest by certain people in the Basin.

The maintenance of French troops instead of the local gendarmerie stipulated by the Treaty has also evoked frequent objection from the inhabitants, and the Council of the League has advised the Governing Commission to study the methods by which these troops can gradually be replaced by local gendarmerie.

Further controversy has arisen over the Governing Commission's decree defining the term "Saar Inhabitant," since the Saar people felt that this definition gave a loophole by which foreigners could obtain the right to vote in the final plebiscite. The Secretary-General has suggested to the Council that a rapporteur should be appointed who might be entrusted with the duty of making proposals concerning the measures to be taken for the preservation of information in connection with the drawing up of the lists of people resident in the Saar in 1918, and thus entitled by the Treaty to vote in the plebiscite.

In September, 1921, and January, 1922, delegations went from the Saar to Geneva to lay their grievance before the League. The Council of the League, however, does not deem it suitable to interview such delegations in view of the fact that the Governing Commission itself reports all complaints to the Council direct.

By Paragraphs 23 and 26 of Chapter 2 of the Annex to Section iv of the Treaty, the elected representatives of the people must be consulted by the Governing Commission whenever it is deemed necessary to modify the laws and regulations in force in the Territory in order to bring them into accordance with the provisions of the Treaty; again, the Treaty states that no new tax except Customs duties may be imposed without consultation with the elected representatives.

Hitherto district councils and local assemblies have been the only bodies representing popular opinion. At its 17th Session the Council was advised that the Governing Commission has decided to set up an Advisory Council composed of representatives elected by the whole population of the Territory and entrusted with the sole duty of giving advice on the subject referred to in Paragraphs 23 and 26 above; and also to institute a Technical Committee chosen by the Governing Commission from the inhabitants to advise upon technical questions.

There is at present dissatisfaction amongst the Saar people with the composition of the Governing Commission, whose chairman is a non-German-speaking Frenchman. There is a strong feeling in favour of the chair being filled by a neutral who can speak and read German.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

The Treaties between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the following countries—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Kingdom of the Serbs Croats and Slovenes, Rumania, Greece, Armenia (unratified), Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey (unratified)—all contain clauses for the protection of religious, racial or linguistic minorities under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

These clauses guarantee protection of life and liberty, the free exercise of religions, the free use of the mother tongue, and the opportunity of education in that tongue whenever the minority constitutes a considerable proportion of the population.

The Treaties lay down the fact that the various States affected recognise on the one hand that these stipulations constitute fundamental laws for them (*i.e.*, no subsequent internal law can contravene them), and on the other hand that they represent an obligation of international concern.

With a view to defining the nature of this guarantee undertaken by the League, the Council adopted resolutions in October, 1920, and June, 1921; the resultant procedure of the Council in cases of minority complaints being as follows:—

When the Secretary-General of the League receives a minority petition, the petition is examined by the Secretariat.

It is then communicated to the State concerned so that the latter may, if it thinks fit, submit its comments within a period of two months. The petition is next communicated, together with the Government's reply, to all the Members of the League, for information. A special copy is sent to the President of the Council. The President and two Members of the Council appointed by him examine the petition together with the Government's reply. This Committee submit a Report to the Council, if they find that the petition calls for such action. When a petition has been brought to the notice of the Council, the latter "may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances"—for instance, the Council might decide to send a Commission of Inquiry to the spot.

In case of any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact between the States concerned and any State, Member of the Council, this difference is held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and can be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

There is a fairly widespread opinion that the protection of minorities would be still more assured if there were to be set up a Permanent Commission to consider and report upon the complaints addressed to the League by minorities, and when necessary, to make inquiries on the spot.

The Voluntary Societies are making a special study of this subject and have held several conferences upon it.

PROTECTION OF ARMENIA

Determined that, if possible, Armenia should be saved from a repetition of the suffering she had endured at the hands of the Turks, the Supreme Council, in March, 1920, asked the Council of the League whether it would undertake the protection of an independent Armenia. The Council pointed out that Article 22 never intended the League itself to exercise a mandate, since the Council had neither a force nor financial resources so to do. The Council advised the Supreme Council that if it could obtain assurances of support from the Allies it would approach the Members of the League on the subject of accepting a mandate for Armenia.

The Supreme Council then invited the United States of America to undertake this responsibility, but they declined. President Wilson, however, was requested to delimit the frontiers between Turkey and Armenia. No further communication was received from the Supreme Council for the next few months.

During its session in October, the Council of the League received urgent appeals from Armenia for help against acts of aggression committed by Nationalist Turks.

The First Assembly, by a resolution adopted on November 18, 1920, entrusted the Council with the duty of safeguarding the future of Armenia, referring for advice, if it should be necessary, to the Members of the League.

The position of Armenia was, however, entirely changed when the Assembly separated. The Armenian Government which had appealed to the Assembly had ceased to exist, and had been replaced by a Government in close relationship with the Soviet Government of Russia.

President Wilson, to whom, under the Treaty of Sèvres, the task of fixing the frontiers between Armenia and Turkey was entrusted, announced his decision

on January 2. This decision allotted to Armenia an extensive territory, including Trebizond, Erzignan, Erzerum, Mush, Bitlis and Van.

The Council, during its meeting held on February 25, 1921, considered how it might best give effect to the resolution of the Assembly.

It decided that, until the situation in Asia Minor had become clearer, and, in particular, until the various questions in regard to the Treaty of Sèvres had been settled by the Allied Powers, no further action was possible. Meanwhile, it entrusted to the Secretary-General the duty of watching developments in Armenian affairs, with a view to preparing any subsequent decisions which might be necessary on the part of the Council.

The Philarmenian League, in a letter dated June 20, again directed the attention of the Council to the position in Armenia. It was stated in this letter that the Treaty of Alexandrinopol had been confirmed by a Russo-Turkish conference at Moscow in March, and that virtually the whole of the Armenian Republic was in the hands of the Nationalist Turks or of the Soviets.

The Second Assembly asked the Council to urge upon the Principal Allied Powers the necessity of taking measures to safeguard the future of Armenia, and particularly of providing the Armenians with a national home entirely independent of Ottoman domination. At the last Session of the Council the representative of France made a reassuring statement on the situation of Christian minorities in Cilicia. The French Government secured the insertion in the Agreement which had been concluded with the Angora Government of a number of guarantees which the Allied Powers consider indispensable for the welfare of the ethnical and religious minorities, and it is supervising their observance.

The Council informed the Principal Allied Powers that it was ready to take part in any measures which might be prescribed for the protection of minorities in the Ottoman Empire.

At the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Paris from March 26 to 28, 1922, on the question of peace between Turkey and Greece, the Ministers decided to invite the League of Nations to collaborate in enforcing the measures proposed for the protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities in Anatolia. Over and above the protection accorded by the minority provisions, the League is asked to assist in obtaining for the Armenians the satisfaction of their traditional aspirations for a national home.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS

POLAND AND LITHUANIA

DISPUTE BETWEEN POLAND AND LITHUANIA OVER THE POSSESSION OF VILNA

In September, 1920, the dispute came before the Council of the League in consequence of communications made to it first by the Polish and then by the Lithuanian Government.

In October a Military Commission of Control appointed by the Council proceeded to Lithuania to prevent an outbreak of hostilities.

In April, 1921, direct negotiations opened between the parties in Brussels under the presidency of M. Hymans, Belgian representative on the Council. The effort at settlement by this method was continued under League auspices for the remainder of the year, but no agreement was reached, in spite of a very strong exhortation to the disputants delivered by the British Delegate at the Council Meeting in September, in a speech containing severe strictures upon Polish policy.

At the Council Meeting in January, 1922, note was taken of the refusal of the two Governments to accept the final recommendation of the Council. These refusals put a term to the League's procedure of conciliation. The Council, therefore, decided to withdraw its Military Commission of Control. It declared itself prepared to suggest measures for making out a demarcation line if the two Governments accepted this solution. It took note of a protest by the Lithuanian Government against elections organised by Poland in the Vilna district. With respect to that district the Council felt convinced that both parties would consent to its sending a Commission of Inquiry should it see fit to do so.

The Polish and Lithuanian representatives gave formal pledges to abstain from any act of hostility, and declared their Governments to be determined to continue their efforts to find a peaceful solution.

THE AALAND ISLANDS

The very difficult and delicate problem of the sovereignty of the Aaland Islands was solved by the League. The situation was as follows:—

Since 1918, the inhabitants of the Aaland Islands had repeatedly declared that they wished to be separated from Finland and to be incorporated with Sweden. Sweden considered the wish of the Aaland Islanders legitimate, and claimed for them the right to hold a plebiscite. Finland refused to entertain this solution on the grounds of the sovereign rights of the Finnish State over its own territory.

The question was brought before the League, not by one of the States directly concerned, but by Great Britain, in pursuance of Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, which recognises "the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

On the report of an International Commission of three Members which had made an inquiry on the spot, the Council decided that sovereignty over the Aaland Islands should belong to Finland, but that in the interest of general peace and of future good relations between Finland and Sweden, and with a view to the prosperity and welfare of the Islands themselves, further guarantees should be provided for the population of the Islands, and that the neutralisation and non-fortification of the archipelago should be assured by an international agreement.

This agreement was concluded in the form of a diplomatic convention guaranteed by the Council of the League of Nations, which is entrusted with the duty of taking the necessary measures to assure the observance and maintenance of the provisions of the Convention. This is the first European diplomatic convention concluded under the immediate auspices of the League of Nations. The League was thus the instrument of the satisfactory solution of a most difficult and complicated problem, all parties agreeing loyally to abide by the League decision.

UPPER SILESIA—ARTS. 88 TO 92, SECTION VIII, PART III, TREATY OF VERSAILLES

On August 12 the Supreme Council addressed a letter to Viscount Ishii, President of the Council, containing this resolution:—

"In pursuance of Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to submit to the Council of the League the difficulty attending the fixing of the frontier between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia, and to invite the recommendation of the Council as to the line which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers should lay down."

Viscount Ishii summoned the Council to meet on August 29 and made a statement on the situation. The statement contained the following facts (put here very briefly):—

In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles (Article 88) an Inter-Allied Commission was sent to Poland in 1919. In March, 1921, a plebiscite was taken by the inhabitants of Upper Silesia on a basis of universal suffrage for both sexes. Total German vote, 716,000; Polish vote, 471,000.

The result was laid before the Supreme Council.

Early in May, Polish newspapers stated that the report of the British and Italian Commission would recommend assignment to Germany of those districts which had voted German. A Polish insurrection immediately broke out under Korfanty's leadership.

The German Ambassador sent notes of protest to the Foreign Office, and the Polish Government dismissed Korfanty. Nevertheless, by the middle of May, Korfanty's troops had overrun the country as far as the Oder. Allied authority only held in the big towns. The Germans in Upper Silesia, seeing the weakness of the Commission, began preparing a counter-offensive against the Poles. In the same month six British battalions arrived in Silesia. Despite this, throughout May, June and July collisions occurred between Polish, German, and Allied forces, the Germans having by this time organised a "*Self-Protection Force*."

In May a Commission of Experts was sent to Report on the question. The British strongly urged the immediate meeting of the Council, but the French pro-

crastinated. No further step was taken till August 12, when M. Briand asked the Council of the League through Viscount Ishii to take over the matter.

On August 29 the Council of the League met at Geneva to consider this

On September 4 the following were appointed to form a Committee to examine the question:—M. Hymans (Belgium), M. da Cunha (Brazil), Mr. Wellington Koo (China), M. Quinones de León (Spain). None of these men represented States which had taken any previous part in discussion. The eventual decision was based on the plebiscite figures taken in conjunction with the geographical and economic conditions, and involved the division of the industrial triangle.

An "Upper Silesian Mixed Commission" is to be set up, composed of an equal number of Germans and Poles from Upper Silesia with a President of another nationality, who might be designated by the Council. The League is to act as an advisory body. The recommendations include economic clauses which are designed to prevent the political frontier from constituting in any way a barrier to trade.

Any dispute arising between the German and Polish Governments within the next fifteen years in respect of these clauses may be referred to the Council of the League of Nations by the Governments concerned.

These recommendations of the Council have been universally adopted.

THE ALBANIAN QUESTION

In March, 1921, Albania appealed to the Council of the League, stating that parts of N. Albania were being overrun by Greeks and Serbs, violating the frontiers fixed by the Great Powers in 1913. In consequence of this, representatives of the Albanian, Greek and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments were invited to state their views at the 13th Session of the Council in June.

Albania held that the League was the proper body to decide the question of the infringement of her frontiers, and the Greek and Serb representatives claimed that it was work for the Conference of Ambassadors.

The Council decided that as the Conference of Ambassadors had taken up the question and was discussing it at that moment, it would be inadvisable to take it up simultaneously. Meanwhile the parties were urged to abstain from any act liable to interfere with the procedure.

The Albanian Government refused to accept this ruling, and at their request the question was put on the Agenda of the Second Assembly.

ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

On the report of Committee VI, the Assembly:—

"Requested the Council to appoint a small Commission of three impartial persons, to proceed immediately to Albania and report fully on the execution of the decision of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as soon as it was given and on any disturbances that might occur on or near the frontier of Albania. The Commission should have power to appoint observers or other individuals being impartial persons to enable it to discharge its functions."

On Saturday, November 5, the Conference of Ambassadors finally decided upon the frontiers of Albania. Their decision differed only slightly from that of the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913.

On November 2 the Secretary-General's attention was drawn to the fact that a new Serbian offensive had been launched which threatened the invasion of the whole of Albania.

On November 7 Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed to Sir Eric Drummond on behalf of the British Government which, availing itself of the right under Article 11 requested the Council to meet instantly to study the situation and decide whether it demanded the application of Article 16 (Economic Blockade).

The immediate results were that Serbian currency depreciated, the projects of a Serbian loan in London were compromised, and Serbian delegates arrived in Paris, accepted the newly delimited frontiers and undertook immediately to withdraw Serbian troops from Albania.

The Council met in Paris on November 16. After a statement by Mr. Fisher on November 17, as to Great Britain's reason for having summoned the Council to intervene, and one by the Serbian and Albanian representatives, respectively, Mr. Fisher announced that, in view of the promises already given by the Belgrade Government, he withdrew his demand for the application of Article 16.

The Council noted the assurances of the Serb-Croat-Slovene and Albanian States to respect the frontiers as delimited by the Ambassadors' Conference. In addition, the Council instructed the impartial Commission, consisting of a Finn, a Norwegian and a Luxembourgian—which the Assembly had requested should be sent to supervise the execution of the decision of the Ambassadors' Conference—to keep the Council informed of the retirement of both the Serbian and Albanian troops from the provisional zone of demarcation, and to keep in touch with the Delimitation Commission wherever necessary, and place itself at the disposal of the local authorities to assist in carrying out the evacuation so as to avoid incidents and to study and indicate to the Council the best means of putting an end to the present troubles, and to propose any measures which it might deem necessary to prevent their repetition. The Commission of Inquiry set out from Geneva on November 15. It has now transmitted to the Secretary-General the results of its inquiry, and its reports have been communicated to the Council and to the Members of the League. The Commission has noted on the part both of the Albanian and of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government a genuine desire to respect the neutral zone; if certain violations of no importance have been committed, through error or negligence, in this strip of territory, they have at once been righted at the request of the Commission. The latter found that the zone had been evacuated by the troops of both countries.

The Commission proposed that a mixed Albano-Serb Military Commission should be created in the neutral zone to exercise control over it and to carry out inquiries on the spot on any incidents which might occur there. The proposal of the Commission which has been accepted by the Albanian and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments is at present the subject of correspondence between the Conference of Ambassadors and the Secretary-General.

On January 16, the Secretariat received a request from the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it should use its good offices in favour of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. This request has been transmitted by the Secretariat to the two interested Governments.

The Commission has also drawn up a report on the situation in the part of the Albano-Greek frontier which has not yet been completely delimited. There, too, the Commission has proposed the creation of a new neutral zone until the frontiers have been delimited. The proposal has also been accepted by the Conference of Ambassadors.

In a report dated February 27, the Commission stated that: (a) in their opinion, conditions in the country were far from settled and that the future course of events demanded close attention; (b) the forcible disarming of the civilian population by the Government, though necessary, had been carried out somewhat violently and had stimulated the activities of the parties in opposition; (c) they considered a discussion at Geneva of the whole problem of the League's future activities in Albania to be necessary.

On March 8 the Commission of Inquiry met the Delimitation Commission at Scutari and on March 19 they arrived at Geneva.

THE ECONOMIC WEAPON OF THE LEAGUE—

ART. 16

The Economic Blockade Commission appointed by the Council met on August 22, and sat until August 29. It considered Article 16 in all its bearings and especially studied the following questions:—

- (1) *Under what conditions should sanctions be applied?*
- (2) *Whose duty is it to decide that the necessity for sanctions has arisen?*
- (3) *At what moment, and by whom, should the measures be applied?*
- (4) *How are the sanctions to be applied?*

The Report of the Commission was the basis of the work done by the Third Committee of the Second Assembly, as a result of which a series of Resolutions and suggestions for Amendments to the Covenant were adopted by the Assembly which tended to strengthen the power and initiative of the Council in the matter of the application of the Economic Weapon of the League, although the sovereignty of the separate States was not impaired. For instance, it was decided that the Council should give an opinion as to whether a breach of the Covenant had taken place or not, and that the Council should notify to all members of the League the

date which it *recommends* for the application of economic pressure. The Council was, moreover, empowered to postpone the coming into force of any of the measures proposed in Article 16 in the case of a particular State, if it considered this desirable.

The last provision in especial went far towards meeting the wishes of certain States who feared the results to themselves arising out of their obligations under Article 16.

The Assembly finally passed a Resolution that these Resolutions should be taken as rules for guidance in the application of Article 16 until the Amendments are incorporated in the Covenant.

AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS

PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION—ART. 22

Under Article 22 of the Covenant it is laid down that those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation. Accordingly, the tutelage of these peoples has been entrusted by the Covenant to the more advanced nations who will administer these countries as Mandatories on behalf of the League. The character of the Mandates must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, consequently mandated territories are divided into three categories. ("A" category containing the people more able to participate in government):—

CATEGORY A (formerly possessions of the Ottoman Empire). Mesopotamia and Palestine allotted to Great Britain. Syria allotted to France.

CATEGORY B (formerly territories of the German Empire). Portions of East Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons allotted to Britain, France and Belgium.

CATEGORY C (formerly territories of the German Empire). Former German Possessions in the Pacific south of the Equator, with the exception of Nauru and Samoa, allotted to Australia.
Former German Possessions north of the Equator allotted to Japan.
Samoa to New Zealand.
Nauru to British Empire.
South West Africa to the Union of South Africa.

The question of the application of the mandatory system was first raised when the Council of the League of Nations was notified of a proposal put forward on behalf of the Supreme Council that Armenia should be placed under the protection of the League.

On March 12, 1920, the Council of the League replied expressing a warm desire to co-operate in the establishment of an Armenian Republic, but as the League was not a State, it had no military or financial resources and the Covenant of the League did not contemplate the exercising of a mandate by the League itself. The Council offered to inquire whether any member of the League would accept a mandate for Armenia.

The Supreme Council subsequently informed the Council of the League that it had asked the President of the United States to accept a mandate for Armenia. On May 27, however, President Wilson's proposal that America should accept this mandate was turned down by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The constitution of the Permanent Mandates Commission to be set up under paragraph 9 of Article 22 of the Covenant, was approved by the Council on December 1, 1920, while the first Assembly was still in session. On December 17, 1920, the terms of the "C" Mandates had been defined by the Council. The drafts of the "A" and "B" Mandates were to be studied during the 12th and 13th sessions of the Council. On February 22, 1921, the President of the Council of the League received a message from Mr. Colby, the Secretary of State for the United States, asking the Council to postpone its discussion of Mandates until the United States had had an opportunity thoroughly to study the question. The note maintained that America, as one of the Allied and Associated Powers, had a right

to be consulted as to the allocation of Mandated territories. The note also objected to the allocation of the Island of Yap (Mandate Category "C") to Japan, as America had an important cable station on that island. The Council of the League in its reply, agreed to the postponement of this discussion till its session in June. Regarding the allocation of the Island of Yap to Japan, the Council's note stated that this allocation had been affected by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers, and that the business of the League Council was only to administer the Mandated areas given to it. Finally, the note asked the Government of the United States to send a representative to the next discussion on this question.

At the opening of the 13th session of the Council in June, the President reported that no reply had been received from America to the Council's invitation to send a representative. He reported that he had addressed to the Governments of the Principal Allied Powers a letter asking them to come to an understanding with the Government of the United States on the terms of Mandates, and he submitted that the Council would be well advised to postpone this discussion once again in the hope that at the next Council meeting, before the second Assembly, the discussion could take place on a basis of complete and cordial agreement between the Allied and Associated Powers.

On September 5, representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy informed the Council of the League that their respective Governments had received a note from the United States on the question of "A" Mandates. During the Assembly the question of Mandates was entrusted to the sixth Committee set up by the Assembly of the League. In its report, the sub-committee of Committee VI expressed its regret at the delay in settling this question, realised that the Council was in no way to blame, but urged that the Council should at the earliest opportunity formally approve application of the Mandatory system to Togoland and the Cameroons, and should address a despatch to the Powers entrusted with the administration of the territories referred to in Article 22 indicating that, whilst the Council had not yet felt able to proceed with the confirmation of the "B" Mandates pending the result of negotiations then proceeding between the Principal Allied Powers and the United States, they should continue to exercise the administration of the territories committed to their charge in the spirit of the draft Mandates until such time as the position should have been definitely regularised.

The adoption of this report by the Assembly marked an exceedingly important advance in the Mandate system, in that it definitely set working the administration of all the "B" Mandates in Africa.

The Mandatory Powers showed their intention of working this scheme by the fact that within three weeks of the adoption of these resolutions the Permanent Mandates Commission had already received reports from Great Britain, France, and Belgium on the administration of the Mandated territories.

These reports were those drawn up for presentation to the various Governments of the Mandatory States, and were submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission as an act of courtesy, as the regular annual reports were, of course, not yet prepared.

Reports on the following Mandated territories were submitted: French Cameroons, French Togoland, British Tanganyika, Belgian East Africa, South West Africa, Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Reports on the last two territories were not studied. Owing to the state of uncertainty with regard to all "A" Mandates, the Permanent Mandates Commission did not feel justified in making any comment upon them, other than an expression of admiration for the great effort at colonial reorganisation displayed in these reports.

To facilitate the drawing up of the annual reports for the Mandatories, the Permanent Mandates Commission drew up questionnaires on "B" and "C" Mandates as a basis, and have sent them to the Council and requested it to circulate them to the Governments of the Mandatories.

The negotiations between America and Japan over the Yap Mandate have now been brought to a successful conclusion. The United States are to enjoy equal rights with Japan or any other nation, as regards the landing and operation of the Yap-Guam cable, the radio-telegraphic services and electrical communication

in general; but so long as Japan maintains an adequate wireless station and apparatus, America's rights to erect similar stations in the island shall be suspended. Right of residence, acquisition of all property and interests, including lands, building, etc., shall also be enjoyed by America equally with all other nations and Japan.

The U.S.A. consents to the administration by Japan of the Mandated islands in the Pacific north of the Equator, subject to the above provisions with regard to the Island of Yap, and also subject to freedom of entry for missionaries of all religions which are consistent with public order and morality.

PERMANENT ARMAMENTS COMMISSION—ARTS. 8 AND 9

A Permanent Armaments Commission has been constituted under Article 9 of the Covenant to advise the Council of the League on the execution of Articles 1 and 8, and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

The Commission sat for the first time in August, 1920, and has presented a Report to the Council of the League dealing with: 1 The use of poison gas. 2 The military, naval and air conditions to be accepted by States seeking admission to the League. 3 The control of the traffic in arms and ammunition. 4 The constitution and composition of the Organisation to be placed at the disposal of the League for the exercise of the right of investigation by the Council of the League in ex-enemy countries, as provided in the various Peace Treaties. 5 Preliminary inquiries to serve as a basis for proposals for the execution of Article 8 of the Covenant.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TEMPORARY MIXED COMMISSION FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

The First Assembly, on the report of the Committee on Armaments, invited the Council:—

- “(a) To request the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions rapidly to complete its technical examination into the present conditions of armaments;
- “(b) To instruct a Temporary Commission, composed of persons possessing the requisite competence in matters of a political, social and economic nature, to prepare for submission to the Council in the near future reports and proposals for the reduction of armaments as provided for by Article 8 of the Covenant;
- “(c) To form within the Secretariat a section to serve as a centre of information for the Commission in question and also as a channel for the publication and exchange of the information referred to in the Covenant;
- “(d) To consider the mechanism by means of which the military information to be exchanged under the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant can be verified in the event of the principle of mutual verification by Members of the League being confirmed by an amendment to the Covenant.”

The Council of the League considered the question at its 12th session, and adopted, on February 25, the following resolutions:—

- “That a Temporary Commission shall be formed for the purpose of submitting to the Council in the near future all evidence and proposals connected with the question of the reduction of armaments contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant, due consideration being paid to the pre-existing conditions upon which the Assembly has made the definite and general limitation of armaments dependent.

The Commission shall include:—

- Persons of recognised competence in political, social and economic matters;
- Six members of the Permanent Advisory Commission for Naval, Military and Air Questions selected by the Commission;
- Six members of the governing body of the International Labour Office, of which three members shall be employers, and three workmen's representatives.”

In conformity with these resolutions the Temporary Mixed Commission was constituted. It presented its report to the Council and the Assembly on September 15, as follows:—

REPORT OF TEMPORARY MIXED COMMISSION

The Commission found that there was no problem before the League more difficult than that of disarmament, for armaments depend upon policy and policy upon circumstances varying every year and in every country.

The Covenant contemplated a world in which all States were within the League and working for the common purposes of maintaining peace. The actual position of the world was very different. So long as the U.S.A., Germany and Russia were outside the League great difficulties confronted the adoption of a plan of universal progressive disarmament and frank communication of military intelligence between States. Moreover, the world was not stable, the countries bordering on Russia were naturally full of fears, the internal situation of Germany was far from secure. War was raging between Greece and Turkey, and there was grave unrest in the Moslem world.

Important progress had been made, however, especially in the disarmament of Germany.

Next in importance to the disarmament of Germany was President Harding's proposal for a Washington Conference to discuss disarmament and settle the political problems of the Pacific. The League welcomed this initiative with great satisfaction.

Meanwhile the Temporary Mixed Commission could do very important work by examining the economic problem of armaments, and the evils connected with private manufacture of munitions.

As regards the specific points of the Member States' armaments expenditure, on which the Commission was asked by the last Assembly to report (viz., an undertaking not to exceed for the first two financial years following the next financial year the sum total of armaments expenditure provided for in the latter budget):—

TWENTY-SEVEN REPLIES from Governments have been received.

TWO REPLIES from Austria and Bulgaria, who are not affected by the question as their military status is determined by the Peace Treaties.

THREE REPLIES of an inclusive character (Sweden, Brazil, South Africa).

FIFTEEN REPLIES from States accepting the Recommendation of the Assembly of 1920. Some of these acceptances are with various reservations. *Great Britain* and *Italy* are the Great Powers who have accepted, both with reservation as to the adoption of the Recommendation by other Powers.

SEVEN REFUSALS to accept the Recommendation—*Spain* and *France* on the ground that budgets do not give a fair indication of military strength, *Finland* and *Poland* invoking their geographical and political situation, *Greece* on account of war with Turkey, *Jugo-Slavia* referring to present international situation, and finally *Japan* considering it inadvisable to give an undertaking pending the completion of the Council's plan for disarmament.

France and *Finland*, however, announce that they have made considerable reductions.

One of the Temporary Mixed Commission's most important duties is the collection of armaments statistics for the Member States, upon which to base their schemes for the limitation of armaments.

PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS

The Commission discussed the question of prohibition at length, and finally recommended that they should continue their own investigations and recommend the League to hold an International Conference on the subject.

TRAFFIC IN ARMS

The Commissions' discussion elucidated the point that little could be done until the International Convention for Control of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition signed at St. Germain in September, 1919, should be ratified by all the Allied and Associated Powers. Only certain small States have ratified so far. The *British Empire* is ready to do so, as soon as all the other Principal Powers are prepared to do

so also, *France* is only awaiting the authority of the Senate to make a similar declaration, *Italy* will ratify as soon as the Convention has been approved by Parliament, *Japan's* attitude is the same as that of the British Empire and France.

There remains the U.S.A. who has not yet submitted the Convention to the Senate for ratification. It has become clear to the Commission that if the American traffic is not controlled, the Convention of St. Germain is likely to remain inoperative, as any attempt at control by other States might merely transfer the sources of supply to the U.S.A.

Committee III, set up by the Second Assembly, was entrusted with the question of limitation of armaments, and on October 1 Lord Robert Cecil presented Committee III's Report on this subject to the 27th Plenary Meeting.

He said that the discussion in Committee III had been based on the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions put forward by Committee III:—

SECOND ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

1 That it is desirable that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be asked to continue the work which it has begun.

2 That the Temporary Mixed Commission be asked to make proposals on general lines for the reduction of national armaments which, in order to secure precision, should be in the form of a draft treaty or other equally definite plan, to be presented to the Council if possible before the Assembly meets next year.

In order to enable the Temporary Mixed Commission to accomplish this task, the Council should be asked to strengthen the Temporary Mixed Commission.

3 That a statistical investigation be made with regard to the armaments of the various countries upon the lines indicated in the body of the Report.

4 That the Temporary Mixed Commission be requested to continue the examination of the question of the private manufacture of armaments and the trade in arms.

5 That the Council be requested to invite all the Members of the League and interested States which are not Members of the League to take part in an International Conference on the private manufacture of arms and the trade in arms, which should meet as soon as possible at a date to be fixed under the responsibility of the Council. It is considered highly desirable that this date be prior to the next session of the Assembly.

The Temporary Mixed Commission should be entrusted with the task of preparing the programme of the Conference and of submitting to it a draft convention.

6 That the urgent importance of ratifying the Convention at the earliest possible moment should be strongly impressed on all the States signatories to the Arms Traffic Convention of St. Germain, whether Members of the League of Nations or not, and at the same time all non-signatory States should be invited to adhere to the Convention.

The Assembly expresses its earnest desire that the importance of this subject may be strongly urged at the forthcoming Conference on Disarmament at Washington.

7 The Assembly, taking note of the view expressed in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Disarmament with regard to the desirability of making provision for excluding the import of arms and ammunition in time of peace from countries in which the traffic is uncontrolled, invites the Council to prepare a draft protocol for this purpose for the consideration of the various Governments. At the same time it expresses the earnest hope that this procedure will not in any way be permitted to delay the general ratification of the Convention of St. Germain.

The steps that may eventually have to be taken for the destruction of the surplus stocks of munitions may be considered by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

8 That, subject to the conditions set out in the recommendation of the First Assembly, the recommendation that Members of the League should undertake not to exceed for the next two financial years following the present year the sum total of expenditure on military, naval and air forces provided for in the budget of that year, should be again forwarded to all Members of the League, together with a statement showing the replies already received to this recommendation.

9 That the Temporary Mixed Commission be asked to examine in consultation with the Permanent Advisory Commission—whether it is advisable to address an appeal to the scientific men of the world to publish their discoveries in poison gas and similar subjects, so as to minimise the likelihood of their being used in any future war.

10 That it is desirable that propaganda in favour of the reduction of armaments, as contemplated in the Covenant, should be carried out with earnestness and conviction in all nations.

11 In pursuance of the third resolution of the First Assembly, the Committee is of opinion that the Secretariat should be asked to complete the organisation of the Section of the Secretariat dealing with the question of the reduction of armaments, and that this Section should have a directorship of its own, or other equivalent or official organisation, quite separate from, and, if necessary, in addition to, those already proposed by Committee No. IV of the Assembly.

On February 20, 1922, the Temporary Mixed Commission met in Paris, under the presidency of M. Viviani. On the recommendation of the Statistical Sub-Committee, the Commission requested the Council of the League to send a letter to all the Governments asking what armaments they considered necessary for national defence and international obligations. This Sub-Committee reported that a great number of official and public documents had been amassed which would speedily be dealt with in order that an exchange of views for indicating the general lines of a plan for reduction of armaments might be possible at the Temporary Mixed Commission's next sitting.

The Sub-Commission on the private manufacture of munitions and the traffic in arms reported again that the ratification of the Convention of St. Germain was essential to any restrictive action in this sphere, and that the Governments which were asked by the Council of the League to approach the Government of the U.S. at the Washington Conference should be invited to give the results of their negotiations regarding the ratification of the Convention, and also should report generally on the work of the Washington Conference from the point of view of the permanent reduction of armaments.

The Sub-Commission were preparing all relevant matter for the International Conference to be held on the control of private manufacture.

During the session Lord Esher (the British delegate) submitted a scheme for general disarmament in the form of resolutions. (Since the Temporary Mixed Commission had decided that it was not competent to draw up a draft treaty as proposed by the Second Assembly in its resolutions.)

Under this scheme the reduction of land armaments is to be effected by a simultaneous proportional reduction of the armies of each nation concerned; just as at the Washington Conference a limitation of naval armaments was effected by a simultaneous proportional reduction in the number of capital ships maintained in the principal navies of the world. This proposal would reduce the armies to the following numbers (co-efficients) of units of 30,000 men each.

<i>Nation</i>	<i>Co-efficient</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Co-efficient</i>
France	6	Rumania	3
Italy	4	Spain	3
Poland	4	Belgium	2
Great Britain	3	Denmark	2
Czecho-Slovakia	3	Norway	2
Greece	3	Sweden	2
Jugo-Slavia	3	Switzerland	2
Holland	3	Portugal	1

Only home forces are taken into account in this allocation; Governments will be free to maintain such Colonial contingents as they may deem necessary to defend their overseas possessions.

An agreement for ten years, to come into force six months after ratification, is proposed.

The Permanent Consultative Commission of the League of Nations, reconstituted under a president nominated by the French Government, will supervise the operation of the scheme.

During the 17th meeting of the League Council in Paris in March, 1922,

the following additional members were elected on to the Temporary Mixed Commission:—Lord Robert Cecil (British Empire), Signor Nitti (Italy), M. Ador (Switzerland), Senor Hontoria (Spain), Lebrun (France), Prince Sapieha (Poland), and Senor Urrutia (Colombia).

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS

Provided for in Art. 23

FINANCE AND ECONOMICS

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

In September, 1920, this Conference was summoned by the Council to study the serious international situation; it consisted of expert economists and financiers from thirty-five States, including neutrals and ex-enemy States.

Their main recommendations dealt with:

The balancing of Public Revenue and Expenditure;

The abolition of State Subsidies;

The cessation of Inflation of Credit and Currency;

The release of trade from hampering restrictions;

The vital importance of the reduction of armaments;

One of the most important steps taken was the drawing up of the Ter Meulen scheme for international credits, which enabled impoverished countries to borrow on the security of their assets from richer countries, through the agency of the League.

In February, 1921, the Financial Committee of the League visited Vienna with a view to applying this credit scheme.

They first stipulated that before any credits could be provided, the Allied Governments who had claims against Austria, under the heads of reparations or relief advances, should agree to waive these claims for at least twenty years.

In addition, the Financial Committee insisted that the Vienna Government should reorganise the internal finances of Austria.

This was done, but, unfortunately, owing to the failure of the U.S. and some other States to waive their claims, the Ter Meulen scheme has not been applied; and Austria is now receiving loans direct from Britain. These funds are controlled by a British official, but unless the League had succeeded in persuading Austria to reorganise her internal finances, no foreign loans could have been granted. Further loans by France and Czecho-Slovakia have been promised.

The Ter Meulen scheme is complete and only waits the demand by some State for application.

Committee II of the Second Assembly was entrusted with the study of the Technical Organisations and the Committee reported to the Assembly on September 28, on the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

(The first two are decisions taken by the Council).

SECOND ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

1 The constitution of a definitive Economic and Financial Advisory Committee, as contemplated by the resolution of December 9, 1920, on the economic organisation of the League, is not imperative during the forthcoming year; the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee will continue its work till the next Assembly, as provided in the Council's resolution of September 19, 1921.

2 The Assembly considers it to be of the greatest importance that the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee should carry out the programme of work indicated in the reports mentioned above, including the study of the following questions: double taxation, the monetary situation, unfair competition, monopolies, distribution of raw materials, unification of legislation relating to bills of exchange, commercial methods designed to obviate the risks arising from fluctuations of the exchanges.

3 The Assembly notes that the Council has requested the Economic and Financial Committee to consider and report upon the meaning and scope of the provision relating to the equitable treatment of commerce contained in Article 23 (e) of the Covenant. Taking account of the wishes formulated by the Conference of Barcelona, the Assembly expresses the confident hope that the Committee will direct and pursue its work, in conjunction with the Advisory and Technical

Committee for Communications and Transit, in the manner best calculated to facilitate the earliest and most general application possible of the principle in question.

4 The Assembly notes that the Council, with the advice of the Economic and Financial Committee, will entertain any application that may be received from States which feel the need of technical advisers on financial and economic administration.

5 The Assembly agrees that it will probably not be necessary to convoke at an early date a general Conference for the study of the principal financial and economic questions; and approves the proposal whereby the Council if it considers it desirable so to do, with the advice of the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee, can convoke restricted consultative conferences for the examination of special problems.

6 The Assembly regrets that the work of the reconstruction of the finances of Austria, in which the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee has been called upon to co-operate, should have been delayed for reasons which it hopes will shortly be removed.

7 The Assembly, having had brought to its notice the continuing gravity of the exchange crisis and its dangerous effects upon the economic position, and the conditions of labour of the working classes, invites the Economic and Financial Committee to carry on urgently its inquiries from various Governments as to the measures taken to ensure the application of the Resolutions of the Brussels Conference; the Assembly further invites the Committee to investigate, in accordance with the Governments' suggestions and as speedily as may be, all practical proposals which may be made for the completest possible application of these Resolutions.

In particular, the Assembly agrees to the proposal that the work of organising the International Credits Scheme should be pursued in the manner set out in the Report submitted by the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee to the Council.

The Committee is further invited to consider, as a matter of urgency, the measures necessary for the adaptation of the system of international credits to the varying situations of different countries.

8 The Assembly recommends to the consideration of the Members of the League the general conclusions of the Report on Certain Aspects of the Raw Materials Problems, including those calling attention to the effects that may be produced by artificial restrictions and duties on the import of essential raw materials on the economic life of other countries.

9 The Assembly, recognising the intimate connection between the restoration of transport facilities and the supply and distribution of raw materials, expresses the earnest hope that every effort will be made to expedite the work of the various Commissions charged with such matters as re-allocation and interchange of rolling-stock in certain parts of Europe.

10 The Assembly invites the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit to consider the desirability of action being taken, under the provision which empowers the Council to call partial or regional Conferences to consider special matters, with a view to promoting the improvement of facilities for intercommunication and transport between those States whose transport systems have specially suffered from disorganisation.

TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS

THE TRANSIT CONFERENCE AT BARCELONA

The resolution adopted by the Assembly on December 9, 1920, for the constitution of a Technical Organisation for Communications and Transit, provided that the Members of the League should be invited to send representatives to a General Conference on Freedom of Communications and Transit to meet at Barcelona as early as possible in 1921.

The Conference sat from March 10 to April 20, 1921. Delegates from 44 States were present. The President of the Conference was M. Gabriel Hanotaux.

The Conference adopted the following instruments:—

- (1) Rules for the Organisation of General Conferences on Communications and Transit, and of the Advisory and Technical Committee;

- (2) Rules of Procedure for General Conferences on Communications and Transit;
- (3) Convention and Statute on Freedom of Transit;
- (4) Convention and Statute on the Régime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern;
- (5) Additional Protocol to the Convention on the Régime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern;
- (6) Declaration recognising the right to a flag, of States having no sea-coast;
- (7) Recommendations relative to the International Régime of Railways;
- (8) Recommendations relative to Ports subject to an International Régime;
- (9) Final Act.

The Council did not consider that any of the instruments adopted by the Conference were in disagreement with the spirit of the Covenant or with the resolution of the Assembly and that therefore there was no necessity for exercising its power of control.

The Conventions on Transit and Navigable Waterways of International concern have already been ratified by several Governments.

Before this, under the auspices of the Provisional Committee on Communications and Transit, an International Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities, and Through Tickets was held in October, 1920. It submitted a series of measures which it requested the Council to invite the Governments to adopt, dealing with the establishment of a uniform type of "ordinary" (*i.e.*, non-diplomatic) passport, with the duration of validity of Passports, and Visas (Entrance and Transit) with the fees to be collected for Passports and Visas, with facilities of sojourn and with the simplification of Formalities.

Austria, China, Greece and Hungary in reply, signified a general acceptance, with minor reservations.

Most of the other countries accepted several of the recommendations whilst pointing out their reasons for disagreement with various others.

THE ADVISORY AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEE. (SESSIONS, JULY 25-28)

The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit constituted by the Barcelona Conference met for the first time at Geneva on July 25, 1921. M. Van Eysinga (Netherlands) was appointed Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee considered amongst other questions:—

- (a) Asking the Council to invite Governments to give their delegates to the Assembly power to sign the Convention.
- (b) Drafting resolution for submission to Assembly providing that general Conferences on Communications and Transit might be convened by Secretary-General at request of one-third of the Members of the League.
- (c) Asking the Assembly to urge all States which have not yet adopted measures based on recommendations of Passport Conference of October, 1920, to do so at once.
- (d) On advice of Council associating with its work, a representative of a Riparian State of the Danube. They decided to secure the collaboration of M. Lankas (Czecho-Slovakia).

On September 23, Committee II reported to the Second Assembly and the four following resolutions were adopted:—

SECOND ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

- 1 " Without prejudice to the terms of paragraph 4, of section 1, of the resolution of December 9, 1920, relating to the Organisation for Communications and Transit, the general Conferences on Communications and Transit shall meet as of right at the seat of the League, on the request of one-third of the Members of the League. Such request shall be addressed to the Secretary-General of the League, and the object and the agenda of the Conference should be attached to the request. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-General of the League to convene the Conference.

- 2 "The Assembly having been informed of the Report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the action to be taken by the Governments with regard to the resolutions adopted by the Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities, and Through Tickets which was held in Paris, October, 1920, observes with the keenest satisfaction that a certain number of States have already put into force part of the measures—so important for international relations, and unanimously recommended by this Conference—tending towards the simplification of formalities connected with the obtaining of passports and visas, the reduction of passport prices, and the unification of passport regulations.
- The Assembly draws the attention of all States which have not yet been able to adopt the recommendations of the Conference, to the necessity of reconsidering the question, and of informing the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the solution ultimately arrived at.
- 3 "The Assembly proposes that the Members of the League of Nations should grant to the members of the various Committees of the League, during their period of office, every possible facility in the matter of passports, particularly with regard to the regulations affecting visas and the period of their validity.
- 4 "The Assembly takes note of the designation by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit of a railway expert (national of a Riparian State of the Danube), and invites the Committee to proceed also, in its next session, to the designation of one or more than one other expert, specially qualified in the different matters dealt with by this Committee and nationals of other Riparian States of the Danube."

INTERNATIONAL HEALTH

In order to carry out in Article 23 the paragraph by which Members undertook to endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of diseases, the First Assembly set up the Permanent Health Organisation, which was to consist of a General Committee (composed of the Office International d'Hygiène Publique), a permanent committee of nine members, who should meet four times a year, and an International Health Bureau consisting of a medical secretary and staff.

The work of the Health Organisation is to advise the League on all matters of health and to bring the health authorities in each country into closer touch, to co-operate with the International Labour Office, the Red Cross and other similar societies, and to organise health missions by the request of the League with the consent of the States concerned.

PROVISIONAL HEALTH COMMITTEE

Owing to difficulties in arrangements between the League and the Office d'Hygiène Publique, it has been agreed to establish a Provisional Health Committee functioning at Geneva. In addition to work done in connection with the standardisation of sera, the quarantine problem and Venereal Disease, the Health Committee, largely by the instrumentality of the Epidemics Commission (which forms part of the Health Organisation), has materially assisted the Polish Government in its fight against typhus. A sanitary cordon was started, with hospitals and disinfectant stations.

After the first visit of the Epidemics Commission to Moscow, a medical officer was nominated to take charge of the sanitary section of Dr. Nansen's committee in that city—and to supervise all sanitary relief work carried out in Russia under Dr. Nansen's authority.

In January, 1922, Dr. Rajchman, the Medical Director of the Secretariat of the League, issued a Report on the situation in Eastern Europe, showing how, during the autumn of 1921, the whole problem of epidemics in Eastern Europe had been greatly intensified by the spread of disease in the famine-stricken provinces of Russia. The flood of Russian refugees and of Polish re-immigrants from these districts during the autumn of 1921 broke through the sanitary cordons, and epidemics of every kind had consequently spread throughout the Russian border States and are seriously menacing the whole of Western Europe.

Upon receipt of this report, the Polish Government requested the Council of the League that a technical conference might immediately be summoned with a view to studying the situation and recommending measures to counteract the grave danger.

The Council approved and invited the Polish Government to convene such a conference at Warsaw, and requested the Secretary-General of the League to place at the disposal of the Conference the technical organisation of the League.

On March 20 the Conference assembled at Warsaw.

Besides the European Members of the League, representatives were sent from Germany, Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Hungary and Turkey.

The Conference decided that no economic reconstruction of Europe was possible till the local sanitary conditions in Russia and the Ukraine were ameliorated, and it therefore recommended that the source of trouble in Russia itself should be dealt with by control of migration and an increase of hospitals, sanitary equipment and food. The present sanitary cordon in Eastern Poland is also to be strengthened.

The estimated cost of these measures is between 1½ and 2½ millions sterling. It was further decided that the work should be entrusted to the Epidemics Commission of the League, and that nations should bear a proportionate share of the cost in money or goods.

The Soviet Government alone stated that they would prefer an international commission for the execution of the work.

These recommendations will be submitted to the Genoa Conference.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

(Provided for in Art. 23)

SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In 1899 various voluntary organisations concerned with the suppression of this traffic met in Congress and founded the International Bureau for combating the traffic. The object of the bureau was to co-ordinate and support the initiative of the voluntary bodies concerned with this question. Owing to its activities fifteen Governments concluded in 1904 an agreement which came into force in 1905 under which central authorities were appointed in each of the signatory countries and received full powers to correspond direct with its equivalent in each of the contracting States. The signatories of the 1904 agreement undertook to:—

- 1 "Have a watch kept especially in railway stations, and in ports of embarkation."
- 2 "Have the declarations taken of women of foreign nationality who are prostitutes, in order to discover who has caused them to leave their country, and with a view to their eventual repatriation."
- 3 "Exercise within legal limits, supervision over the offices and agencies engaged in finding employment for women and girls abroad."

Experience, after this agreement had come into force, showed that it was totally insufficient, and a new International Conference of the representatives of Governments met in 1910, when each State taking part, bound itself, in cases where its own legislation did not suffice, to provide for and inflict punishments on all who engaged in this trade. Even these undertakings failed of complete success since the States never ratified.

In pursuance of these efforts, the Assembly, by a resolution adopted on December 15, 1920, decided that the Secretariat of the League of Nations should draft and forward to all Governments a questionnaire inquiring what legislative measures had been taken by them to combat the traffic in women and children, and what additional measures they were proposing to take in the future. The Assembly further resolved:—

- 1 "That the Governments which had signed the Agreement and Convention of 1904 and 1910 concerning the traffic should at once be urged to put them into execution; and

2 " That the Governments should be invited to send representatives to an international conference to be held before the next Assembly."

It was proposed that this Conference should co-ordinate the replies to the questionnaire, and endeavour to secure a common understanding between the various Governments with a view to future united action.

The Council, at its meeting held in Paris on February 22, 1921, noted that the Secretary-General had already despatched the questionnaire mentioned in the above resolution, and that the replies would probably be available by the end of June. It decided to instruct the Secretary-General to invite the countries adherent to the Conventions of 1904 and 1910, and any other Governments willing to take part, to send representatives to an international conference to be held in Geneva during the last week in June.

The Conference met on June 30. It comprised delegates from thirty-four countries.

The Conference carefully considered the replies to the questionnaire which had been received by the Secretary-General. It concluded that all the contracting States had carried out very exactly the obligations imposed upon them by the Conventions of 1904 and 1910, and noted that the States which were not adherent to these Conventions had brought, or were intending to bring, their legislation into conformity with the principles of these Conventions.

As a consequence of this Conference the representative of Great Britain on the Council transmitted to the Secretary-General a draft " International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children." The Second Assembly entrusted its Committee V (Humanitarian) with the further study of this Convention.

During the discussions hot disputes occurred. The French delegates headed an opposition which objected to the precedent created by the drafting of a Convention by a Committee of the Assembly, and to the immediate opening of the Protocol for signature. Eventually, after a severe struggle, the French view was defeated, and the following Convention was adopted by the Assembly on September 29. On the next day the Protocol was opened for signature, and up to date thirty-three States have signed it.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Recommendation

The Assembly, having taken into consideration the Final Act of the Conference of Geneva on Traffic in Women and Children, approved by the Council, expresses the wish that those of its provisions which require conventional form be adopted in that form by the Members of the League with the least possible delay. For this purpose, the Assembly recommend that the delegates who have the necessary full powers to sign the Draft Convention annexed should sign it without delay, and that those who do not yet possess them be invited to communicate immediately with their respective Governments in order to obtain the necessary powers to sign.

Convention

Being anxious to secure more completely the suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children described in the preambles to the Agreement of May 18, 1904, and to the Convention of May 4, 1910, under the name of "White Slave Traffic,"

Having taken note of the Recommendations contained in the Final Act of the International Conference which was summoned by the Council of the League of Nations and met at Geneva from June 30 to July 5, 1921; and

Having decided to conclude a Convention supplementary to the Arrangements and Convention mentioned above,

Have nominated for this purpose as their Plenipotentiaries [Here follow the names of the signatory States].....
.....
who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:—

ARTICLE I. The High Contracting Parties agree that, in the event of their not

being already Parties to the Agreement of May 18, 1904, and the Convention of May 4, 1910, mentioned above, they will transmit with the least possible delay, their ratifications of, or adhesions to, those instruments in the manner laid down therein.

ARTICLE II. The High Contracting Parties agree to take all measures to discover and prosecute persons who are engaged in the traffic in children of both sexes and who commit offences within the meaning of Article I of the Convention of May 4, 1910.

ARTICLE III. The High Contracting Parties agree to take the necessary steps to secure the punishment of attempts to commit, and, within legal limits, of acts preparatory to the commission of, the offences specified in Articles I and II of the Convention of May 4, 1910.

ARTICLE IV. The High Contracting Parties agree that in cases where there are no extradition Conventions in force between them, they will take all measures within their power to extradite or provide for the extradition of persons accused or convicted of the offences specified in Articles I and II of the Convention of May 4, 1910.

ARTICLE V. In paragraph B of the final Protocol of the Convention of 1910, the words "twenty completed years of age" shall be replaced by the words "twenty-one completed years of age."

ARTICLE VI. The High Contracting Parties agree, in case they have not already taken legislative or administrative measures regarding licensing and supervision of employment agencies and offices, to prescribe such regulations as are required to ensure the protection of women and children seeking employment in another country.

ARTICLE VII. The High Contracting Parties undertake in connection with immigration and emigration to adopt such administrative and legislative measures as are required to check the traffic in women and children. In particular, they undertake to make such regulations as are required for the protection of women and children travelling on emigrant ships, not only at the points of departure and arrival, but also during the journey and to arrange for the exhibition, in railway stations and in ports, of notices warning women and children of the danger of the traffic and indicating the places where they can obtain accommodation and assistance.

ARTICLE VIII. The present Convention, of which the French and the English texts are both authentic, shall bear this day's date, and shall be open for signature until March 1, 1922.

ARTICLE IX. The present Convention is subject to ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who will notify the receipt of them to the other Members of the League and to States admitted to sign the Convention. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat.

In order to comply with the provisions of Article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Secretary-General will register the present Convention upon the deposit of the first ratification.

ARTICLE X. Members of the League of Nations which have not signed the present Convention before April 1, 1922, may accede to it.

The same applies to States not Members of the League to which the Council of the League may decide officially to communicate the present Convention.

Accession will be notified to the Secretary-General of the League, who will notify all Powers concerned of the accession and of the date on which it was notified.

ARTICLE XI. The present Convention shall come into force in respect of each Party on the date of the deposit of its ratification or acts of accession.

ARTICLE XII. The present Convention may be denounced by any Member of the League or by any State which is a party thereto, on giving twelve months' notice of its intention to denounce. Denunciation shall be effected by notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Copies of such notification shall be transmitted forthwith by him to all other Parties, notifying them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall take effect one year after the date on which it was notified to the Secretary-General, and shall operate only in respect of the notifying Power.

ARTICLE XIII. A special record shall be kept by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, showing which of the Parties have signed, ratified, acceded to or denounced the present Convention. This record shall be open to the Members of the League at all times; it shall be published as often as possible, in accordance with the directions of the Council.

ARTICLE XIV. Any Member or State signing the present Convention may declare that the signature does not include any or all of its colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates, or territories under its sovereignty or authority, and may subsequently adhere separately on behalf of any such colony, overseas possession, protectorate, or territory so excluded in its declaration.

Denunciation may also be made separately in respect of any such colony, overseas possession, protectorate or territory under its sovereignty or authority, and the provisions of Article XII shall apply to any such denunciation.

Done at the in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the League of Nations.

It should be noted that the great measure of success achieved by the League in this Convention, is due to the fact that the existence of League machinery has secured thirty-three ratifications already, whereas at none of the other conferences was there any organised method of securing ratification.

RUSSIAN RELIEF—(a) FAMINE

Dr. Nansen, who had been appointed as High Commissioner for Relief Work in Russia by the Conference of great Philanthropic Bodies, of the Comité Internationale de la Croix Rouge, and of the League of Red Cross Societies which met in August in Geneva, had, on September 9, 1921, asked the Assembly whether it was prepared to address an appeal to the Governments for official credits to finance the relief work in Russia. The Assembly could not accept Dr. Nansen's views on this subject.

Sub-Committee of Committee VI of the Second Assembly had discussed the question as to whether the Council should be asked to put at the disposal of the relief organisation the service of the International Credits Organisation. Meanwhile the Supreme Council had appointed an International Relief Committee to meet in Brussels on October 6. The Committee considered that the League should not take up a question which was to be decided by another body with precise instructions.

The Assembly had to decide whether it could give official sanction to the agreements made by Dr. Nansen with the Soviet Government.

The Committee had come to the conclusion that this was not within the competence of the Assembly; though it could affirm its confidence in Dr. Nansen, especially in connection with his successful repatriation of prisoners.

Dr. Nansen gave a harrowing account of the situation, and expressed deep disappointment at the failure of the Governments to accede to his request for five million pounds to save twenty million starving people.

Resolutions were adopted unanimously in the following form:—

- 1 "The Assembly considers it an urgent necessity to combat the famine in Russia; it further considers that all efforts should be encouraged which, like the Geneva Conference, aim at alleviating this scourge.
- "The Assembly addresses a pressing appeal to private organisations in order that the efficacy of the common endeavour may be assured by a close co-ordination of all the efforts devoted to this case.
- "The Assembly further expresses a desire that the Governments of all countries may interest themselves in the efforts of their national associations and should grant them, to the greatest possible extent, such material and moral support as they may need.
- 2 "The Assembly considers that relief work should be extended to include all the regions of former Russia which are visited by famine without forgetting the populations of the territories of the Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

- 3 "The Assembly notes that an International Conference has been summoned to meet at Brussels on October 6 in order to consider the problem of the famine raging in Russia and the means of remedying it by the concerted action of Governments and private associations.
- "The Assembly expresses the hope that the authorised representatives of the Governments may consider the most expedient means of coping with the financial difficulties of this problem. Amongst the forms of relief which the Governments might afford, the Assembly would urge the importance of gifts in kind from the liquidation of war stocks.
- 4 "The Assembly considers that the Committee of the League of Nations formed to combat epidemics should be invited to co-operate with the associations which have undertaken the campaign against infectious diseases in Russia and the Caucasus.
- 5 "The President of the Assembly is requested to transmit to His Holiness the Pope Benedict XV a copy of the four resolutions above mentioned in the hope that he may find therein a proof of the profound appreciation with which the League of Nations received the message in which His Holiness had begged to draw the attention of the Representatives of the Governments assembled in Geneva to the unhappy plight of the famine-stricken areas in Russia and the urgency of alleviating and rendering them assistance.
- "The Assembly takes this opportunity of expressing to His Holiness its warmest gratitude for so generous an action, which manifests once again the anxiety with which His Holiness ever proceeds in the alleviation of all suffering."

Resolutions were adopted on October 10, at the plenary sitting of the International Russian Famine Relief Committee, in favour of financial and material aid from the various Governments.

This assistance, it is laid down, should be in the form of support of the efforts of private organisations, such as the Red Cross societies, and stress is laid on the importance of guarantees for distribution of supplies.

It is requested that the Governments shall report to the Committee by November 1 the nature of this assistance, and that the humanitarian and other societies shall furnish by the same date information as to their resources and activities.

Attention of the relief bodies is called to the great number of children in need of relief, and they are asked to make such arrangements as they deem suitable for their succour.

It was decided by the Conference held at Brussels that the following conditions of obtaining credits for Russia are absolutely essential:—

(1) The Russian Government must recognise its existing debts and other obligations.

(2) Adequate guarantees must be given for all credits to be granted in the future.

If the credits are supplied under these conditions they will be utilised to facilitate exportation to Russia of such products as the Conference may deem essential, after the Commission of Inquiry has made its report.

The French Chamber has voted six million francs to Russian Relief, and the British Government £250,000 in kind.

(b) RUSSIAN REFUGEES

When the Russian Revolution in 1917 drove more than 800,000 Russian subjects from their country, these refugees fled to the States of Central and South-Eastern Europe, in many cases in a destitute condition.

The largest concentrations were in Constantinople and its environs, where Wrangel's army and great numbers of the civil population took refuge after the invasion of the Crimea by the Bolshevik armies.

The problem of bringing aid to these destitute thousands had by 1921 surpassed the powers of the charitable organisations, and in February, 1921, the International Red Cross Committee, after conferring with the chief of these organisations, appealed to the League to appoint a commissioner, who should co-

ordinate all help for the refugees and should investigate the possibilities of (a) repatriation, and (b) the finding of employment in other countries. The Council of the League complied with this request; after ascertaining that the States concerned were in favour of the formation of a general organisation.

On August 22 a conference was called, at which eleven States were present and the chief charitable organisations. During its sessions the appointment of Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner was announced. This Conference studied reports from the following places in which refugees were domiciled:—

Bulgaria, China, Finland, France, Algeria, Tunisia, Prinkipo, Lemnos, Cyprus, Egypt, Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Constantinople.

In most of these places the Governments had succeeded in absorbing a number of refugees into agricultural or industrial employment, and a certain number were maintained by French and British financial support.

But in the case of the Constantinople refugees no such absorption was possible. Up till the autumn of 1921 the French Government, with the help of the American Red Cross, maintained all those who had not been dispersed to the neighbouring countries by General Wrangel himself.

Since the French rations ceased and the American Red Cross funds came to an end, the condition of these refugees has been in the extreme pitiful—death by starvation became a not uncommon occurrence—and those who survived were saved only by the liberal charity of individual residents, and £20,000 from the British Government.

In view of this, and the fact that the Russian famine was occupying Dr. Nansen's whole energy, Sir Samuel Hoare, as Deputy High Commissioner, went to Constantinople in January, 1922, to try and evolve some plan for the relief of these people.

He established a League office to co-ordinate all the activities hitherto directed to the relief of refugees. The first work of the office was to complete the census of refugees in categories according to professions, which Dr. Nansen had already prepared. The Deputy High Commissioner felt that the most important step was to provide these refugees with work, if possible in Slav surroundings, and since the Balkan States had already admitted many thousands, he considered the only likelihood of their receiving more was if they were offered definite numbers of people whose professions were clearly stated.

The office will also be occupied in obtaining visas for the refugees into the neighbouring States and providing transport. Sir Samuel Hoare stated that £30,000 was needed to cover office expenses, cost of transport, and the maintenance in the countries which receive them.

At its 17th session, the Council, on March 26, decided to invite all the Governments to help in facilitating the evacuation and distribution of the refugees in the neighbouring Slav countries as may be willing to receive them, and to call attention to the public appeal of Dr. Nansen and Sir Samuel Hoare. The British Government has offered £10,000 for this work.

CONTROL OF THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM

The First Assembly, by a resolution adopted on December 15, 1920, decided that an advisory Committee should be appointed by the Council, which "three months before the beginning of every session of the Assembly, should present to the Council for submission to the Assembly a report on all matters regarding the execution of arrangements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs."

The duty of supervising the execution of arrangements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs is imposed on the League by Article 23 of the Covenant. Hitherto the administrative duties arising out of the Opium Convention had, to a large extent, been performed by the Netherlands Government, which, under the Opium Convention of 1918, was entrusted with the collection of data concerning the traffic and with the regulation of disputes. The Assembly decided, with the concurrence of the Netherlands Government, that the Secretariat of the League should henceforth be entrusted with the duty of collecting information as to the arrangements made in the various countries for carrying out the Opium Convention, and as to the production, distribution and consump-

tion of the drugs. The Assembly resolved that the Netherlands Government should be requested to invite the co-operation of the signatories of the Opium Convention which were not yet Members of the League, and it was decided that a special invitation should be addressed to the United States of America to sit on the Advisory Committee, together with the representatives of the countries specially concerned.

The Council on February 21, 1921, decided that the Advisory Committee should consist of one representative from the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, India, Japan, China, Siam, and Portugal respectively, and appointed as assessors to the Committee, for a period of two years from the date of appointment, Sir John Jordan, M. Henri Brenier and Mrs. Hamilton Wright. The Committee was requested to meet at the beginning of May, and to present its report to the Council not later than June 1, 1921.

The Committee met at Geneva from May 2 to 5.

The Government representatives on the Committee were:—

M. W. G. van Wettum (Chairman)	Netherlands
Sir Malcolm Delevingne	Great Britain
M. Kahn	France
Mr. J. Campbell	India
M. A. Ariyoshi	Japan
M. Tang Tsai-Fou	China
The Prince Charoon	Siam
M. M. Ferreira	Portugal

The Committee adopted a questionnaire to be addressed to the Governments for the collection of information concerning the execution of the Opium Convention. This questionnaire has since been addressed to the Governments of all countries.

The Committee decided that, before presenting a report to the Council for submission to the Assembly, as suggested by the Assembly resolution, it would be better to await the replies of the Governments in order that the situation might be reviewed as a whole. The Committee accordingly proposed to meet again early in 1922, when all the information would probably have been received by the Secretary-General, in order to prepare a full report for submission to the Third Assembly. Meanwhile the Committee presented a preliminary report to the Council, containing a number of recommendations designed to secure a more complete execution of the Opium Convention and fuller information in regard to the traffic.

The Council considered these recommendations on June 28, and adopted the following resolutions:—

COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

(1) That States which are Members of the League and have not signed or ratified the International Opium Convention, be invited to do so as soon as possible.

(2) That the Netherlands Government be requested to continue its efforts to secure ratification of the International Opium Convention by those States which are not Members of the League.

(3) That the Provisional Health Committee of the League, or any other similar organisation, be asked to undertake an inquiry to determine approximately the average requirements of the drugs specified in Chapter III of the International Opium Convention for medical and other legitimate purposes in different countries.

(4) That in order to carry out the obligations under Articles 3 and 5, and under Article 13 of the International Opium Convention, the Governments, which are parties to the Convention, be invited to adopt the following procedure:—

“ Every application for the export to an importer of a supply of any of the substances to which the Convention applies shall be accompanied by a certificate from the Government of the importing country that the import of the consignment in question is approved by that Government, and is required for legitimate purposes.

"In the case of drugs, to which Chapter III of the Convention applies, the certificate shall state specifically that they are required solely for medicinal or scientific purposes."

(5) That the special attention of the Contracting Powers having treaties with China be invited to the provisions of Article 15 of the International Opium Convention, so that the most effective steps possible should be taken to prevent the contraband trade in opium and other dangerous drugs.

(6) That the consideration of the fifth recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium be deferred.

(7) That in view of the world-wide interest in the attitude of the League towards the Opium question and of the general desire to reduce and restrict the production of opium to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium be requested to consider and report at its next meeting on the possibility of instituting an inquiry to determine approximately the average requirements of raw and prepared opium specified in Chapters I and II of the Convention for medicinal and scientific purposes in different countries.

Committee V of the Second Assembly dealt with this subject, and reported to the Plenary meeting of the Assembly on October 1.

SECOND ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

1 The Assembly concurs in paragraph 3 of the Council's resolution on the understanding that the inquiries undertaken will be of a scientific character, and that, when they apply specifically to any particular country, they will be made through, or with the consent of, the Government of that country.

2 The Assembly recommends to the Council that, in paragraph 5 of the latter's resolution, it should also draw the attention of the Government of China to Article 15 of the International Convention on Opium.

3 The Assembly recommends to the Council that the inquiry referred to in paragraph 7 of the latter's resolution should be extended to include all opium, consumption of which may be considered legitimate, and that to this end the word "strictly" be omitted, and the word "legitimate" be substituted for "medicinal and scientific." It further recommends to the Council the omission of the reference to prepared opium; that is to say, to opium prepared for purposes of smoking, the complete suppression of which is provided for in Chapter II of the Convention.

4 The Assembly recommends to the Council that the different Governments be invited, where they see no objection, to furnish to the Secretariat, in addition to the official annual report, any information concerning the illicit production, manufacture or trade in opium or other dangerous drugs which they think likely to be useful to the League in the execution of its task.

5 The Assembly recommends the Council to consider whether all nations specially concerned in either the growth or manufacture of opium or other dangerous drugs should not be represented on its Advisory Committee.

6 The Assembly urges those States, Members of the League, which have not yet signed and ratified the Opium Convention to do so as soon as possible.

7 In order to facilitate the execution of the Convention, the Assembly urges all State Members of the League which are parties to the Convention to signify to the Secretariat, as soon as possible, their acceptance of the fourth recommendation of the Advisory Committee relating to the requirement of importation certificates.

8 The Assembly recommends the Council to request the Advisory Committee to extend their investigations to include not only the drugs mentioned in the Convention of 1912, but also all dangerous drugs of whatever origin which produce similar effects, and to advise as to the desirability of convoking a further international conference of States which are parties to the Convention as well as State Members of the League of Nations, with a view to drawing up a Convention for the suppression of the abuse of such drugs.

REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS OF WAR

On February 7, 1920, the Supreme Economic Council passed a resolution inviting the Council of the League to take measures for the assistance of prisoners of war in the territories under the Soviet Government. Efforts to deal with the matter had already been made by various public and private bodies, including the International Committee of the Red Cross; but, in spite of these efforts, it was estimated that there still remained some 500,000 prisoners of war in Europe and Asia to be repatriated. In many cases these prisoners had been absent from their homes for from four to six years, and were suffering severe hardships. Of these prisoners, some 250,000 in Russia and Siberia belonged to Central Europe. The Council of the League, during its fourth session at Paris in April, 1920, decided to invite Dr. Nansen to act on behalf of the Council, and authorised him to negotiate with the Governments interested to co-ordinate efforts of the existing organisations, and to prepare plans. He was also asked to submit recommendations regarding the financial credits required for the work.

Dr. Nansen immediately began negotiations with the Soviet Government, and arranged for the repatriation of prisoners over the Baltic and through Vladivostok. He also engineered an agreement between the German Government and the Soviet Government, and an exchange of Russian prisoners in Germany against prisoners belonging to the Central Empires in Siberia, and opened another route for repatriation over the Black Sea for prisoners in Turkestan.

It would have taken some considerable time to raise money by private subscriptions to finance the work, and Dr. Nansen therefore applied to the International Committee of the Relief Credits in Paris and to the Governments represented on this Committee for immediate advances. This appeal was endorsed by the Council of the League.

Most of the Governments allocated funds for repatriation through the Committee of Relief Credits and a total sum of £435,000 was received. The American Relief Committee substantially assisted with funds for the evacuation of prisoners from Vladivostok.

During its sixth session, held in London, June, 1920, the Council of the League received an appeal from Count Wrangel, who was representing Bulgarian interests in London, concerning the conditions of the Bulgarian prisoners in Greece and Serbia. The Council authorised Dr. Nansen to make an unofficial inquiry into the facts, and to take any measures necessary. As a result of Dr. Nansen's efforts satisfactory arrangements were made by the Greek and Bulgarian Governments for a settlement of the question.

In his report made in November, 1920, to the first Assembly of the League, Dr. Nansen stated that up to that time 180,000 prisoners had been repatriated, of whom rather more than half were Russians returning from Europe, while the remainder were Central Europeans returning from Russia.

This work continued throughout 1921, and on September 21, Dr. Nansen reported to the Second Assembly. He expressed grateful recognition of the help received from every Government he addressed in the name of the League—and of the ready co-operation of all the voluntary organisations. From Vladivostok 12,000 were brought away. From the Black Sea, and principally from the Novovossik, where there are still two ships working at the collection and transport of prisoners of war, scattered round the shores of the Black Sea, there have been, so far, 5,000 men brought away.

Through the Baltic, from Riga, Narva and Björkö (the cheapest route), 350,000 men were brought away.

Therefore, for the £400,000 placed at Dr. Nansen's disposal approximately 380,000 men have been returned to their families, many of them from the remotest parts of the Russian Empire, where communication was exceedingly difficult.

He expressed great gratitude for the admirable co-operation of the Soviet and German Governments in assisting this work, and for the invaluable assistance proffered by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

DEPORTATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

As a result of hearing the accounts of women and children of Greek, Armenian and Syrian race deported to Turkey and Asia Minor, the First Assembly passed a resolution inviting the Council to constitute a Commission of Inquiry to investigate these abuses.

At the twelfth meeting of the Council in February, 1921, it was decided that, owing to the chaotic conditions prevailing in the Near East, a Commission could not be sent from outside; accordingly, a Commission of three persons already resident in Turkey in April, 1921, was set up; two were residents in Constantinople and one in Aleppo. Great difficulty was experienced in discovering the number of the deported, but the Armenian patriarch proved that 50 per cent. of the children in Turkish orphanages were Armenians, and the Greek delegate stated that 300,000 Greek women and children were still captives.

A clearing house for the children, called the Neutral House, was established in Constantinople.

SECOND ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

During the Second Assembly, Committee V dealt with this subject, and, on their report, the Assembly accepted the following resolutions:—

- “ 1 That there should be appointed in Constantinople a Commissioner of the League of Nations whose appointment should be officially notified to the Allied and Associated High Commissioners, to the representatives of the other interested countries, and Members of the League, to the Turkish Government and to the ecclesiastical authorities of the deported populations, namely, the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs;
- “ 2 That the League requests France, Great Britain and Italy to instruct their High Commissioners to constitute themselves as a Committee, whose duty it would be to concert action with a view to giving all possible assistance and powers to the League of Nations Commissioner for the carrying out of his duties;
- “ 3 That there should be established under the Commissioner of the League, a mixed board to deal with the reclamation of women and children. This board would be composed of the present Members of the League of Nations Commission of Inquiry, with power to co-opt in particular cases a member of each interested nationality. The board would look to the Allied Commissioners and to the co-operation of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs for the necessary support in the carrying out of its decisions. The Committee emphasises the desirability of encouraging the work of charity already being carried on in the different centres by various establishments;
- “ 4 That the ‘ Neutral House ’ for the temporary reception and examination of women and children reclaimed from Turkish houses should be reorganised and placed under the direct management and supervision of the Commission of Inquiry;
- “ 5 That further ‘ Neutral Houses ’ may be opened in other centres as circumstances permit.”

ORGANISATION OF INTELLECTUAL WORK

The Committee appointed by the Second Assembly to consider the problem of the organisation of intellectual work sat on September 8 and 10. It had before it the report of M. Leon Bourgeois, adopted by the Council on September 2, 1921, and two memoranda by the Secretary-General—(1) On the educational activities and the co-ordination of intellectual work accomplished by the Union of International Associations, and (2) on the desirability of creating a technical organisation. The discussion was introduced by M. Lafontaine.

The Committee considered the desirability of sending the question to a special sub-committee, but decided that the highly complex and technical nature of the problems involved made it unlikely that such a course would be profitable. The Committee realises the great importance of the Organisation of Intellectual

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contact, and spread from one country to another the ideas which can ensure peace among the peoples, and if the efforts already made in this direction receive encouragement. After some discussion of the subjects to be included under the head of the organisation of intellectual work, the Committee decided to follow in principle the plan recommended in the report of M. Bourgeois to the Council. It was resolved:—

“ That this Committee approves the draft resolution put forward by M. Leon Bourgeois in the name of the Council, namely, the nomination by the Council to examine international questions regarding intellectual co-operation, this committee to consist of not more than twelve members and to contain both men and women.”

A series of pamphlets dealing in more detail with all these subjects is in course of publication.

Copies of the following are now obtainable from the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1:—

The Covenant of the League of Nations, showing the amendments adopted by the Second Assembly. (No. 7. Fifth Edition.)

Pamphlet on the Upper Silesian Problem. (No. 64.)

Printed at the Pelican Press, 2 Carmelite Street, E.C.—May 1922.

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